

THE MINORITY OF ONE

Independent Monthly Publication, Dedicated to the Elimination of All Thought Restrictions Except for the Truth

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad."—GEORGE ORWELL

Vol. II, No. 12 (13)

Copyright, 1960
THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC.



Address for subscriptions and correspondence:
P. O. Box 6594, Richmond 30, Va.

Editor:
M. S. Aronson

December, 1960

The War Decision

A Point of No Return?

The incumbent President of the United States has made the most important decision for his tenure of office even before his election as the nation's chief executive. This contention will remain unaltered whether the next President is John F. Kennedy or Richard M. Nixon, a choice which by the time these words are read will have already been made.

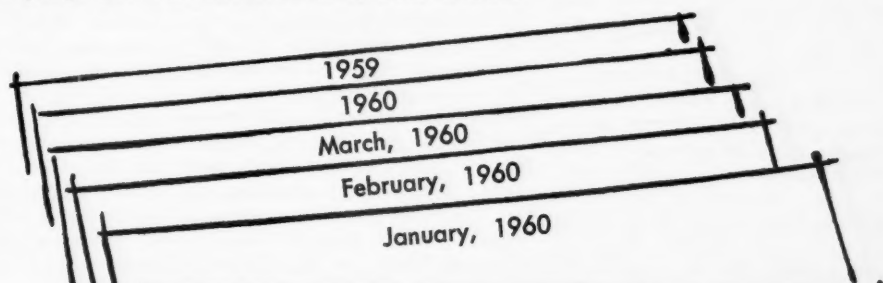
The deaf ears the American Administration displayed towards all the passionate appeals for a detente in the fifteenth U.N. General Assembly were predetermined by a highest level decision the American people could not have learned about from the election campaign but from obscured news from abroad.

In Bonn, the West German "Defense" Minister Herr Franz-Josef Strauss elaborated on the United States plan to equip the NATO (read—German) forces with nuclear devices. The same news was disseminated in Paris by former Premier Paul Reynaud. The European press properly devoted much space to it. Andre Fontaine, foreign editor of the influential Paris newspaper *Le Monde*, stated that "the two White House candidates have agreed to (President Eisenhower's) project, and it is only to prevent it becoming an election campaign issue that no public declaration about it has yet been made."*

While the American electorate was being stupefied by the two presidential candidates with an imbecilic marionette show of contrived "issues", the true issue of our times was resolved in a private conspiracy of three men: the President and his two prospective successors. A decision tantamount to an eventual declaration of war was reached by them in a concerted scheme not to let the electorate interfere with it.

It is quite revealing that when the news about that decision reached the American continent from across the ocean, it was buried by the nation's largest daily *The New York Times*, on page 17 of its October 20, 1960 issue, under the misleading heading "Bonn (instead of Washington) Backs Plan To Provide NATO With Atom Force." There were eleven multiple headlines on the front page of that issue but the real news of the decade was sidetracked by the *Times* to a single, not quite 12-inch column on page 17 (1).

Undoubtedly, this historic decision was expedited by President de Gaulle's de-



THE MINORITY OF ONE

Independent Monthly Publication, Dedicated to the Elimination of All Thought Restrictions Except for the Truth

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad."—GEORGE ORWELL

Vol. I, No. 1

Copyright, 1959
THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC.

Address for subscriptions and correspondence:
P. O. Box 6594, Richmond 30, Va.

Editor:
M. S. Aronson

December, 1959

The Defeated Victor

—Page 2

"Prophecy" in Cuba

—Page 3

How to Read a Magazine

—Page 6

Stigma and Foreign Policy

—Page 8

Image and "Decorum"

—Page 12

and other articles and features

*John Bush's Reuters dispatch from Bonn of October 19th.

(Continued on Page 16)

Defeated Victor

John F. Kennedy was elected the thirty-fifth President of the United States without having gained an absolute majority of the electorate. He will be a minority President. As a matter of fact both he and his defeated opponent, Richard M. Nixon combined drew not much over half the total potential vote. The biggest party that emerged from the November 8th election is the party of dissenters plus those who thought the Presidential campaign quite irrelevant for one reason or another. That "party" withheld from each of the two candidates more votes than they drew. To say that the uncultured votes were mostly those of political slackers, while not incorrect, in itself constitutes an indictment of our political life.

Whatever the reasons for the abstention, the phenomenon itself is a denial of the contention that we live under a truly democratic system. Political apathy in an age as perilous as ours is an uncontestable symptom of social abnormality, of a state that could not prevail in a truly free society. Whoever the election abstainers are—whether the politically sophisticated opponent of both political parties, the man despairing of his chances to influence the giant state apparatus, the proponent of I-don't-careism, or the drunkard in the corner tavern—they all are the products of our social reality. They all are symptomatic of a social illness that is as strange to genuine democracy as totalitarianism itself.

Within this context the election abstainers might have been even more expressive than the protesting write-in or small-party voters. The latter may even be used by our power elite for the misleading contention that in America all schools of thought may present themselves to the electorate and if some of them do not gain significant public support, this is due to nothing but the free decision of the electorate. An editorial in *The Washington Post* of November 3rd should convince anyone that this argument is actually being invoked by our bipartisan party.

The new President will take office not without a political endowment. The net result of the presidential campaign was some degree of articulation of the frightful ends for which public authority will be employed for the next four years. The President-elect is pledged to a continuation if not outright intensification of the cold war. He has proposed to manifest this quite promptly through a resumption of

nuclear tests. Domestically, fascist encroachments upon American life will be sustained not only by a still greater intolerance of criticism of our foreign policy but also by adding the final link to the Taft-Hartley Act: forced arbitration between labor and management.

While the newly elected President may count on the traditional period of grace during which our press will abstain from any criticism to let him grow into a superhuman legend, it is most frightening to consider that the greatest decisions in mankind's history will be made by one whose chief ambition was nothing but to attain the summit of social status. When the greatness of our times and events confronts the smallness of an overindulged status seeker, what hope can emerge from the encounter?

THE MINORITY OF ONE INDEPENDENT MONTHLY PUBLICATION

published by
THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC.
1312 Asbury Rd.
P. O. Box 6594
Richmond 30, Va.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

	1 yr.	2 yrs.
United States	\$5.00	\$9.00
Canada	\$5.25	\$9.50
Other foreign subscription rates submitted at request.		

Material published herein may be reproduced upon written permission from THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC., provided proper credit is given. Unsigned contributions are written by M. S. Arnone.

NO COMMERCIAL ADVERTISING ACCEPTED

Second-class postage paid at
Richmond, Virginia.

To Set The Record Straight

By Ernest B. Zeisler

In the early 1950's, after we were in effect at war against the People's Republic of China, we said China must be kept out of the UN because no nation should be allowed to "shoot her way into the UN." But for several years before and for several years after the Korean War we have been keeping China out of the UN, without any such excuse. The State Department and the Pentagon have good reason for this. So long as China is not in the UN, no disarmament agreement will be made, on the grounds that the Soviets could violate it on Chinese territory. We thus have a built-in alibi not to come to any agreement, and we do not wish to lose this alibi.

Repeatedly, over a period of years, some of our leading politicians and top military brass have been saying that a strong land army in Western Europe under NATO was necessary to prevent Europe's conquest by the Red Army. In fact, NATO's ground forces have never reached more than about half the strength we were told was absolutely essential by 1955. Then we are told that it was only the fear of reprisal by our nuclear bombs that prevented the Russians from attacking. If this is true, the number of divisions stated to be absolutely essential were in fact not needed at all. At least one of the two military theses must be untrue.

The brutal action of the Soviets in Hungary a few years ago is repeatedly brought forward. Such brutality is not excusable. But who is the critic?—We sent 5,000 marines with tanks and machine guns into Lebanon at the request of the Lebanese President Chamoun, and against the expressed wishes of the Lebanese Parliament. We had a legal right to do this, just as the Soviets had a legal right to send their troops and tanks into Hungary at the request of the gang that controlled the Hungarian Government at the time. Had the Lebanese resisted our invasion the way the Hungarians resisted the invasion of the Red Army, we too would have put our tanks and machine guns into action. Fortunately, the Lebanese displayed the good sense not to resist.

It has been estimated by agencies acting for our Government that an attack on the U.S.A. by relatively small bombs would kill 60 million Americans. This is a slight increase over the estimate published by Secretary of Defense McElroy on June 27, 1959 that even if the Soviets were able to launch 260 nuclear bombs and kill 50 million Americans, that would not destroy America's ability to retaliate. Our Secretary of Attack could look with equanimity upon the sudden violent death of more than one-fourth of our population. In this eminently "Christian" view he is joined by Dr. Clarence Mannion, former Dean of the Law School at Notre Dame.

Dr. Mannion made a strong point that morality is inseparable from belief and faith in God, and especially the God of the Christians. Does Dr. Mannion himself believe in God, the God of all-knowing, wise, and all-powerful justice? If so, why does he not trust in God? Surely God knows what is going on. Surely God will not permit the Communists to defeat us unless he wishes it that way. No, Dr. Mannion does not trust in God, but in hydrogen bombs. This is sacrilegious, is it not, Dr. Mannion?

In the September issue of *The Minority of One*, Lloyd Somers writes that "The first requirement of freedom of the press is that the profit element be eliminated." I dissent. The profit element does not prevent an honest paper; it serves as an incentive for dishonest persons to publish newspapers, but it will not make an honest person dishonest.

On behalf of *The Minority of One* and all its contributors I cite Vice-President Nixon's explicit statement in his second TV debate with Sen. Kennedy, that every citizen in the United States has not only the right but the obligation to criticize, assuming he tells the truth or what he believes to be the truth.

The "Self-Fulfilling Prophecy" In Cuba

Dr. Jerome D. Frank, the prominent psychiatrist at the Johns Hopkins University, who so incisively discerned psychopathological patterns of behavior in international relations of the cold war era, said that *"the terrible thing about the mutual distrust of enemies is that some enemies are untrustworthy to begin with, but all become so eventually. Enemies cannot trust each other because each is forced to act in such a way as to justify the other's distrust. This is an example psychiatrists and sociologists have called 'self-fulfilling prophecy.'"*

Cuba seems to be providing the truly classic instance of Dr. Frank's thesis. The American Government became the enemy of Cuba as soon as the Government of Dr. Castro proclaimed agricultural reforms that prejudiced some of the most unscrupulous and illegitimate interests of exploiting American investors. (At least a part of our grievances is due to an alleged underestimating of the value of the lands taken over from American latifundists for the purpose of establishing eventual compensation by the Cuban Government. Yet, these estimates were based on the latifundists' own tax returns. If they have been cheating the Cuban Government for many years with regard to taxes, they certainly cannot expect a reversal of their own fraudulent calculations to suit their present interests. Or, would our own Internal Revenue Service accept two divergent income tax returns—one for the purpose of paying income tax, the other to obtain a Government refund?)

To provide an ideological smokescreen for our position, we started denouncing Castro and his colleagues as Communists and fellow-travelers. And with a Communist, of course, we refuse to do business. We refused to trade with Castro's Government or to provide it with needed arms. Not being able to get them from us, Castro was forced to initiate trade relations with the Soviets. This, of course, was taken as a "confirmation" of our communist claim and provided an example of a "self-fulfilled prophecy."

Then we started accusing Castro of being a dictator who deprived the Cuban people of their freedom. Accordingly, we began accommodating, if not actually launching, anti-Castro movements among the American-Cuban colony as well as in Cuba itself. Members of the 26th of July Movement are being wooed into deserting Castro by a variety of arguments. Despairing of chances to survive determined American opposition, some seek to protect their political future by deserting him now. In the meantime, the Cuban Government loses its self-confidence and the atmosphere becomes inconducive to holding popular elections in Cuba. That we precipitated such a situation does not

deter us from finding in it the confirmation that Castro's regime is a dictatorship. Another of our prophecies is self-fulfilled.

We denounce Castro as a tyrant and despot who has no respect for human life; then we sanctimoniously believe we are serving liberty by accommodating a Cuban underground. Planes are taking off from American soil to set Cuban sugar fields aflame, saboteurs are exported to Cuba and arms are smuggled across the sea. Of course, all this provokes Castro to launch mopping operations, seize the saboteurs and put them out of commission. Once more our prophecy is self-fulfilled.

The alleged Kennedy-Nixon difference of opinion on how to handle Castro discloses nothing but a controversy on how overt our intended intervention in Cuba should be. Walter Lippmann has correctly captured this sole difference between the Republican and Democratic "recipes" for Cuba in his October 25th column: *"What Mr. Kennedy advocated looks toward doing in Cuba what the Administration, as all the world knows, did in Guatemala. The only difference is that Mr. Kennedy very unwisely said what he would do about Cuba in the future, whereas the Eisenhower Administration has been boasting about what it did do in the past in Guatemala. What this shows is that neither side seems to have learned the lesson, so flagrantly illustrated in the U-2 affair, that when a government goes into the political black market it must keep its mouth shut."* Mr. Lippmann, obviously, does not object to the Government's "trips" to the "political black market" but wants them made in the darkness of night. As to the general bipartisan claim to the American "right" of subversion, Mr. Lippmann has this to say: *"The general doctrine, of which Mr. Kennedy's mistake is an application, is the old American tradition, which was Woodrow Wilson (sic!), that the governments of our adversaries should be overthrown. This was the doctrine which the late John Foster Dulles wrote into the Republican Platform of 1952."*

Khrushchev's threat to respond with missiles if we attack Cuba has certainly caused some adjustment in our plans. Our aims, however, remain intact. Washington still cries: "Castro must go!" To avert Khrushchev's missiles as well as popular resentment throughout South America, however, the subversion of the Cuban Government must be made to appear as a strictly Cuban inspired effort. We are not going to repeat the mistake of the Guatemalan invasion of 1954. No, this time our CIA personnel will not offer the United Fruit Company's money to hirelings in Honduras for invading Guatemala and deposing the government that dared to depart on an agricultural reform. This time

we will be more selective about the national origin of the hirelings. This time we will not seek out former SS men and escapees from the Foreign Legion but concentrate on Spanish speaking people. The presence of a rather populous Cuban colony on American soil simplifies the task, and overt economic aggression is resorted to as a political weapon.

This may well be an involved, time consuming way to challenge a despised regime; much, however, can be said in its favor. It not only enables us to camouflage our interference but also bears the rich rewards of seeing our prophecies self-fulfilled. We keep forcing Castro to act and behave in ways we accused him of in advance.

This well calculated long-range plan for subverting the Cuban Government will be executed with ever greater urgency. But its consequences are quite unpredictable, not because the Cuban people's strength could suffice to frustrate it (it probably could not), but because Cuba might conceivably become another Korea. Our Government may speculate that the Soviets will not engage too directly in so remote a country, but the correctness of this speculation is quite uncertain. The Soviets may be attracted by the opportunity to carry the cold war struggle close to the American continent and to humiliate our Government in the very heart of its unadmitted empire. The gain in prestige throughout the world and especially throughout South America might be so great as to prove irresistible.

In any case, while we are congratulating ourselves on our ability to cause the Cuban Government to resort to drastic measures that suit our "propaganda in advance", we are playing with a fire that could be fanned into a world conflagration.

The trend is quite fatalistic and there is practically no hope for a return to a sane American policy with regard to Cuba. Our present policy emerges from the very structure of the American body politic. As long as the political function of the United States is exercised by a collective of merchants and industrialists, this is the only policy we can formulate with regard to Cuba. The basic political set up of America is not going to change in time to produce a reversal of our Cuban subversion. So the only hope the Cuban people have of retaining the promise of dignity that Castro personifies lies in gaining massive political and economic assistance from America's international opponents. Of course, when they rely on the only forces they can rely on, our State Department's prophecy is once more self-fulfilled, "justifying" our accusations of communist leanings. It is a vicious circle, a situation so insane that the effect brings about the cause...

Today's Crisis*

By Thomas H. Uzzell

The American people have been taught that the present world crisis is due to Russia's having the wrong kind of government. If Russia only had a good government, a government like ours, for example, a democratic government, we'd feel safer and could be friends with them. My thesis is that the kind of government Russia, or any other country, has is none of our business but that the kind of government we have is very much our business and that we who are responsible for our government are neglecting our duty. I intend to show that we face a crisis with our own government and that if we could solve it, we could end the present cold war and find a way to make peace with Russia. Our national security is endangered not by too much Communism abroad but by too little democracy at home. Russia has had a revolution and made it stick; we need a revolution, our own kind of revolution, and Russia and the rest of the world are watching to see if we, who have displayed so much missionary zeal in the past, will now be able to save ourselves.

This is the real crisis today. In this first chapter I intend to do my best to shift my reader's attention from the evils of Russia's government to the evils of our own. My audience, I am well aware, has been thought-controlled and conditioned by endless propaganda not to believe anything a reform seeker like me might say. That propaganda calls upon us to hate Russia; I plead that we hate no one and get busy and put our own house in order. "Where is the crisis in our government?" I hear people ask. "Our politicians in Washington often mess things up, but they always have and always will, and yet we seem to get along; we have prosperity, business is booming; what's your worry? This is no time to upset the government." This is the attitude of the average citizen today who reads his newspaper and believes it and who will toss off the slogans of reaction, actually believing that he thought them up himself.

There are exceptions. When I face privately a group of young people, college students off the campus, beginners in business offices with some education, bull sessions perhaps at a party, my audience listen, are worried, and they ask questions, good questions. At meetings of Young Democrats and Republicans, of political reform societies, and here and there in certain college classrooms, headed by an enlightened, courageous instructor, discussions of current problems of our government may be heard. The reforms proposed in such talks are, however, routine, the word "crisis" is seldom heard and the word

"revolution" may break up the meeting.

Endlessly we hear the apathy about government deplored. It is a wasting disease which now infects the great mass of adult middleclass more or less enlightened citizens. I detect it in the plumber who comes to mend a pipe, the newspaper reporter I meet on the street, the relative who drops in, the proper housewife whom I chat with after church, my barber—one and all are friendly, cheerful, absorbed in the job, the home and the children, the weather, and as long as you keep to these topics, you belong to their club. When, however, you merely mention citizen responsibility for the crimes and corruptions in the unholy alliance between big money and big politics, these fellow townsmen freeze up immediately. Why is this? I have tried to understand, to anatomize, this new, strange, un-American paralysis that has affected political discussion.

For two years as a young man I lived in a totalitarian country in which political discussion was suppressed by the iron hand of authority. Whenever I attempted a comment on that country's government, my friends would stop me abruptly: "I can't talk about that; if I am overheard, I'll be jailed at once and my family will never know why I disappeared or where I am." No such suppression of mere political discussion heeded be feared in the U.S.A. The first amendment is still in force among us and the courts are open to defend it. Imprisonment awaits only those who take measures to overthrow the government by force. What new terror has descended upon our important populace to suppress it? When asked for a political opinion, the businessman says, "What I can't say, I'd better not know." The man who lives for his television set explains, "What I don't know is probably an exaggeration." The news editor: "What I don't know—just name it, but I have to earn a living." The housewife: "What I don't know, won't pay for a new car." The commonest alibi for refusal to perform a civic duty, to attend, say a precinct meeting, is "We're enjoying prosperity, why complain?" And then, of course, there is the lazy, desperate comment of the thought-controlled man who, hearing that someone is going to talk about government reform, says behind the speaker's back, "He must be a Communist."

My bias is that of a critic, an insensate citizen, and inevitably I stress evils. I come not to praise but to bury political incompetence and corruption. In the brief space available to me I impeach our government under three heads: inflation, the cold war, and taxation.

We face a crisis in government because our representatives in Washington have proven themselves incompetent to end the cold war. Our government asks us to live year after year under the constant threat

of mass extermination and inconceivable suffering from horrible, wasting diseases. For over ten years now we have been told by the world's greatest scientists, by leading statesmen, by medical authorities, by the evidence from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, about the fate that hangs over our helpless heads. Our government has failed to end the cold war with the result that at any moment we may be asked to pay for its bungling by being killed. For ten years our government has faced these two alternatives: either end the armament race by agreements with other peoples or ask the masses of the American population to face being wiped out in a catastrophe. The government has chosen the latter alternative: it has failed in its duty to protect our lives and now asks us to prepare to die. This is the situation today. It has been explained to us over and over again by responsible authorities. This is how your elected representatives have failed you. Does all this concern you or doesn't it? Is a situation like this a crisis in government or isn't it? And, finally, I might ask, with Peter F. Drucker, when did the American people ever give their government power to destroy the human race?

The cold war affects our relations with other nations. Our government cancels our letters with a big stamp, "Pray for peace," and petitions to God for peace are heard in our churches from coast to coast, while our President and his state department announce that we can solve the differences with Russia only with guns, more guns, better engines for killing Russians. Russia's answer is the invention of guns for killing Americans and the boast that they will kill more than we will. This is international insanity. The American and Russian people are not insane; they have in the last two or three years met each other in Russia and in our country in friendly, amused and profitable intercourse. I have lived two years with the Russian people in Russia and paid them the compliment of learning to speak their language fluently, and I give you my word that they are as human, as intelligent, as peace-loving as we are. Both peoples look to their governments to bring peace and our government (our concern is our government) gives every evidence of ignoring our hopes and pleas.

At this point I seem to hear some of my readers protesting: isn't the government doing all it can? A businessman friend of mine, a fellow townsman, tells me I should have more respect for our government. I ask him why. His reason: "He is a gentleman." Our government is not doing all it can to end the cold war as many of the expert underlings in the executive and state departments will tell you—privately. The possibilities of honest, open-minded conciliation have not been tried. Premier Khrushchev on his visit proposed a solution of the cold war and, as I write this, our foreign chancelleries seem not to know how to follow up on it, to test its sincerity. Our President was to return the visit at once; he hesitates to seize the great opportunity; he postpones his trip, obviously upon advice. Advice from whom? Answer that question and you will understand what stalls our peace-making machinery.

*Mr. Uzzell is an author, former faculty member of several universities and magazine editor. These are excerpts from the first chapter of his forthcoming book, *The Constitution Speaks*.

Attempts at conciliatory meetings fail because our negotiators are forced (reluctantly, in my belief) to issue ultimatums instead of making fair offers. They know their demands will not be met when they make them. Our negotiators insist on concessions before consenting to meetings. The United Nations Organization is by-passed by both nations, although they were foremost in setting up the UN to solve just such problems as they now face. Under present circumstances, involving universal perils, this failure to use the United Nations, or modify it so it can be used, is the ultimate treason by both nations to the people of the world.

Alibis for the failures of our negotiators to end the cold war are dinned into our ears: Russia is not a democracy like us, her government doesn't express the will of her people, we can't deal with dictators whose only purpose is to enslave their people and increase their power by communizing and bossing the whole world. This view is based upon two rash assumptions: Russia's government doesn't express the desires of her people and ours does, Russia is trying to become a world power and we're not. We have satellites in the Pacific, West Indies, and (well disguised) in South America. The sun never sets on our military bases flung around the world. No one will argue that all the problems of American-Russian rivalry must be settled before progress in disarmament is possible. Both governments are sinners but sinners can agree if doing so eliminates the threat of death for millions of people in both countries.

We are creatures of chance and are incurably optimistic. We are like the man who fell out of a tenth story window and on the way down called to a man in a fifth story window: "all right so far!" We have never lost a major war and have never seen our cities toppled by bombs; we Americans are lucky and smart; we'll come out on top; we always do; don't be so downbeat. Such are the dreamy infatuations of a people being prepared for doom. We live on the edge of an abyss in an era of world anarchy and we worry only about the price of a new automobile, a swimming pool, or a divorce. We are supposed to be the best-schooled people on earth and yet are asked to swallow a devil theory about Russia: love God, hate Russia, and don't ask questions. If the Russian people would only rise up and kick out their dictators and their damn Communism, we'd be for them and would be glad to tell them what to do next. The ignorance, the presumption, the folly of such propaganda—how will our people ever learn!

We are tragically wanting in an historical view of current events. We can't see that when a government begins frantically to suppress criticism, to substitute the star chamber for constitutional processes, and to threaten to imprison anyone who advocates the overthrow of the government, the time has come to overthrow that government. Instead of facing this fact we, the luckiest and most childish people on the face of the earth, trust in fate, and "fate," wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson, "is for imbeciles."

THE BRIGHTER SIDE

Three Cheers

► FOR MRS. TOBEY M. WIEBE, student teacher of Baltimore, Md., for refusing to participate in classroom Bible reading in a protest against all religious instruction in public schools.

► FOR THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS for upholding the objection of the Teamsters Union to the appointment of Terence F. McShane, former F.B.I. investigator of James Hoffa, as the chairman of the union's Board of Monitors.

► FOR WILLIAM E. MILLER, United States District Judge, for ordering the immediate desegregation of the first four grades in the public schools of Davidson County (Nashville, Tenn.)

► FOR THE CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC PROGRESS for urging the adoption of a bold and constructive Federal farm program.

► FOR SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD for urging the revision of the United States-Japan security treaty and the unification of Korea by endorsing a neutral status of the unified country.

► FOR THE AMERICAN LEGION for imposing organizational sanctions against its affiliate, the 40 and 8 Society, in an attempt to bring about the discontinuation of the latter's exclusion of Negroes from its membership.

► FOR THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC for preparing an expert program to eliminate racial discrimination in housing throughout the United States.

► FOR JUDGES JOHN B. SULLIVAN, FRANK J. MURRAY and EDMUND R. DEWING of the Superior Court in Boston, Mass. for rejecting a General Electric Company petition for a restraining order against picketing by the striking International Union of Electrical Workers in Lynn and Everett, Mass.

► FOR THE UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA for urging a formal ban on the testing of nuclear weapons by any nation.

► FOR GOVERNORS J. MILLARD TAWES of Maryland and LINDSEY ALMOND of Virginia for their initiative in forming a nine-state association to combat the chronic joblessness and economic underdevelopment in the Appalachian belt.

► FOR THE CHAIN STORES of F. W. Woolworth Co., S. H. Kress & Co., W. T. Grant Co. and McCrory-McLellan Stores Corporation for desegregating luncheon facilities in their 112 stores in the South.

► FOR THE SENATE ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY SUBCOMMITTEE for investigating payola payments by sports promoters and sports writers.

Foreigners, who are not blinded by our money madness, love of luxury and myopic patriotism, are able to see what is happening to us, though most of them are too polite to tell us and we are too flabby minded to listen when they do. European observers, mindful of the centuries of struggle to prevent the encroachment of the state on the liberties of their people, can see what is happening to us as we careen along confident we'll get the breaks. One of the shrewdest judgments on us came from the pen of Alexis de Tocqueville who one hundred and twenty-five years ago visited this country. He put what he learned in his "Democracy in America." After saying that "the Union is as happy and free as a small people, and as glorious and strong as a great nation," he dwelt with misgivings upon our restless materialism springing from the dangerous illusion that money is everything. He foresaw the possibility of a state which, without practicing any bloody oppression, would reduce the people "to nothing better than a flock of timid

and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd" and which would undertake "to spare its subjects all the care of thinking and all the trouble of living." Prophetic Frenchman!

The Italian philosopher, Niccolo Machiavelli, a cynical but astute political writer, four centuries ago found reason for hope in the midst of the corruptions and treachery of the government of his day. In his famous book, "The Prince," he addressed his contemporaries: "Other people learn from the perils of their neighbors, you will not even learn from your own, nor trust yourselves nor recognize the time when you are losing and have lost. I tell you fortune will not alter your behavior. Heaven will not and cannot preserve those bent on their own ruin. But I cannot believe it will come to this, seeing that you are free Florentines and have your liberty in your own hands. In the end I believe you will have the same regard for your freedom that men always have who are born free and desire to live free."

How to Read a Popular Magazine

By Robert Anton Wilson

Any page of printed matter contains, in implication, the total dimensions of the human situation, because it is really impossible for man to be a complete liar. That is, man can lie with part of his mind, but—as psychoanalysis has clearly demonstrated—he cannot lie with his whole mind. His words always contain the truth, even while they are structured into a lie. Consider, for instance, the October 1960 issue of *McCall's* magazine.

McCall's is a magazine intended to appeal to a mass readership; hence, it is carefully edited and written to conform to the dominant myths, prejudices and compulsions of our society at this date. It is, thus, a kind of inadvertent index of the sanity and maturity of the American people. Since it is intended particularly for women, it is a mirror of the personality of the American female. The American woman of October 1960 looks into *McCall's* for October 1960 and sees the mirror-image of her own desires, motives and dreads. Like Picasso's *Girl Before a Mirror*, she sees both what she wants to see and—in another perspective, of which she is unconscious—also what she does not want to see.

For instance, *McCall's* has a definite aesthetic structure of which its readers are largely unaware, but which nonetheless mirrors the preoccupations of the readers. This structure is in three parts, like a play; and, like a play, it is a progressive revelation of a complex psychological situation.

Part One, about 80 pages in length, consists almost entirely of advertisements. This is the brightest, strongest, most vibrant part of the magazine, played *con brio* all the way—big, fullpage poems in multi-color celebrating the joys of consumerism, with a flavor of Wagnerian overture about the whole. These advertisements all fit together into a long hymn-like song of joy to the good things of life, as defined by Madison Avenue—the right perfumes, the tasteful fabrics, the correct coffee, the fashionable furniture, etc. Everything is gay, colorful, clean, rich-looking, *happy*.

Part two begins at about page 80 and runs on to about page 160. It consists mostly of text—with handsome color illustrations, of course. This text, the “body” of the magazine, dramatizes and illustrates the way of life invoked by the advertisements: the American Way, as it is called by those who have forgotten that Jefferson meant something a little bit different by that term. This text—stories, articles and “features”—dramatizes the problems of those who are not quite achieving the bliss of the people in the advertisements, and shows how they can achieve it.

Part Three, the last 80 pages of the magazine, is the grim gray truth. The

multi-color full page ads and the handsome text illustrations both disappear, and we are left with chopped-up pieces of text left over from the body of the magazine, scattered in a wasteland of black-and-white one-quarter page ads promising relief from the all-too-human ills which the rest of the magazine so studiously ignores. It is like the end of *King Lear* tacked onto the beginning of *Pollyanna*.

Let us explore this mirror of modern America a little more closely.

The opening overture of joy to materialism seems bright and robust and happy on the surface, as we said. Almost every ad shows a “typical” American—i.e., “typical” in Madison Avenue's mind, which means, one who belongs to the upper upper middle class or lower upper class—going into a childish contortion of glee over some manufactured product. On closer inspection, however, much of the glee seems a bit hysterical and desperate, and it seems to be motivated, not so much by the product, but by some symbolic status association of the product.

For instance, on the inside front cover a big multi-color ad shows a beautiful Renaissance vase with a towel draped over it, and the headline: “Created to show with pride, to use with deep pleasure . . .” Notice that showing the product to somebody else, and taking pride in it, are mentioned *before* using it. Note also that it is the towel that is for sale, not the vase: the vase is merely there to symbolize the snob-function of the towel. Note also that the towel is “one of Cannon's Royal Family of towels.”

(Further on in the magazine you discover a woman's shaver called “Crown Jewel,” sheets by “Lady Pepperell,” “the new Princess phone,” bath oil by “Prince Matchabelli” and even “Royal pudding.” (Don't ever let anybody tell you that Americans are happy with the democratic social system imposed on them by the founding fathers.)

It is worth observing, also, that the happiness of the people in the ads would be a bit extreme even for the angels in Dantes seventh ring of heaven, and is certainly a bit odd for citizens of the war-torn and nerve-racked sixth decade of the 20th Century. These people who are looking so ecstatic over their new gadgets and gimcracks—are they schizophrenic, unaware of the fallout in their food, or are they deliberately getting drunk on sensual pleasure the way some people get drunk on whiskey—to run away from reality?

There are other overtones of the sinister in this vision of joy. There is, especially, an element of perverted (i.e., misdirected) sexuality that is frequently shocking in its crudity. The Lady Pepperell ad, for instance, shows a woman alone in bed, her arms thrown out in ecstasy, an expression of visceral pleasure

transfixing her face. Most women need a man to get them into that state, but this gal is getting her thrill from Lady Pepperell's sheets. “How delightfully different,” gushes the copy, “What a heavenly new way to set your room aglow with color.”

The basic device of this ad is so common in American advertising that I have made a name for it; I call it the Orgasm Gambit. “Use our product and you'll get a thrill of your life,” is the general pitch, always accompanied by a picture of a woman wearing an expression that neither Freud nor a Baptist preacher could misunderstand. The issue of *McCall's* we are analyzing has this Gambit also on pages 3, 11, 35, 40, and 147 (I am omitting several doubtful cases, and mentioning only the crudest and most pornographic ones). The girls in these ads are having their orgasms over, respectively, a cutlery set, an electric shaver, a necklace, a face cream and a cup of coffee.

Many ads which do not explicitly use the Orgasm Gambit use variations of it. The gal who is being thrilled by coffee on page 147 has a more euphemistically presented cousin on page 143. This one is smiling demurely and chastely while she receives a very Platonic-type kiss from her husband, over the headline: “Love story at 250 Elm.” The story is that she served hubby the right brand of coffee, so all is well with their marriage. Most men I know expect more than coffee as a sign of love from their wives, but maybe things are really like that in Des Moines.

Another ad uses the technique of semi-obscenity which Freud analyzed in his book on wit: it begins by asking the leerling question, “Does she . . . or doesn't she?” and then you discover it's talking about hair dyes. I've heard “party phonograph records” that use the same *double entendre* method but, since they aren't advertising anything, they're considered obscene and have to be sold under the counter.

Some of the juxtapositions in this issue of *McCall's* are hilarious. For instance, a column on “The Baffling Quest for Intimacy” deals with the need for close understanding in marriage; it is followed almost immediately by an ad proclaiming, “They tell him it's makeup . . . He's convinced it's you.” Of course, only a society of masks would be conscious of a quest for intimacy, or consider such a quest “baffling.”

The quest for “intimacy” (or “togetherness”) is, as is well known, the favorite theme of the stories and articles in such magazines as *McCall's*. The ads we have been analyzing (and dozens like them, for which we have no room) raise the question: are there any people left in this country to experience “intimacy” or “togetherness” with each other? There are no people in the ads, only masks on

top of more masks. A person—an integrated individual—is something more than a consumer, and the ads seem intent on converting us all into becoming consumers only.

"Love" is the other great quest of modern America, after "intimacy." See how that emotion survives in Consumerland: a big two-page spread shows a typically "contented" American baby, and tells us bluntly: "Nothing says love like a gift of Carter's." I may be old-fashioned, but I happen to think that to a baby many things say love more than Carter's clothes. Or is it possible that even American babies are becoming status-conscious and measure value in terms of consumer products? I doubt it; infants are born sane, with a realistic sense of values based on love of the flesh—first, their own, and then, others—and not on ownership of inanimate things.

A few pages later we find the following gush of leering pornography: "For your . . . body and psyche. Now, while you smooth and silken your skin . . . you can ease away the day's cares with an exotic fragrance that relaxes your mind." The adult woman shown "soothing" her skin in this ad is probably the grown-up result of the baby whose parents say "love" by giving her Carter's baby clothes. There are real connections between the prohibition of narcissism in infancy, the use of narcissistic imagery in the ads for adults and the worship of things in America.

Now, however, we are getting to the Second Act of this tragic comedy. The ads begin to thin out and the stories and articles begin appearing. Without exception, these stories and articles endorse and perpetuate the consumer mentality of the advertisements.

One story, for instance, begins with the heroine wondering whether or not she should go to a cocktail party. We read:

"She would often say, 'I loathe cocktail parties. I always have to go unwashed and in a scramble, and I'm sure I'm just covered with office personality.' She would also say, 'I ought to be kicked. I knock cocktail parties, and then I knock myself out to get to them, and I have the time of my life. Who am I kidding?'"

"And sometimes she would say, with a surprisingly cold twist to her mouth, 'Of course, if you have to go, it's better to go to rich people's parties. They always have thick carpets and hot canapes—and other rich people.'"

The next story begins by telling about a young couple with a great problem: "Three house models were available in Willow Woods: the Capri (\$18,950), the Palm Beach (\$16,950) and the San Diego (\$14,225). The Beaumonts had the San Diego, and they had the basic model, without permanent awnings, ornamental iron grillework at front, family room, screened porch or carport with connecting breezeway." If you can dry your tears over the plight of this poverty-stricken young couple, you may read on to learn how they were able to get back into the snob swing of things: "And then the Beaumonts got a butler . . ."

Kenneth Rexroth once remarked of such magazines that the characters in the stories have exactly the same values as the characters in the advertisements. That the readers are expected to have the same values, too, is indicated by the articles that creep in between the stories and advertisements. One is on "The Care and Feeding of Debutantes" and informs the readers that "the top rung of the social ladder is now the goal of the many rather than the few," and tells them how to get there by using "a specific status symbol that marks a girl and her family as unchallengeably social in the eyes of the world at large"—said status symbol being a Debutante Ball.

The next article informs us that to be really in the swing of things we should paint our house twice a year.

(Don't worry about how to afford such things—that's what Household Finance Corporation is for.)

Next comes "Zsa Zsa Gabor—My Story Written for Me by Gerold Frank." Why anybody would want to read Zsa Zsa Gabor's story, even if it were written for her by William Shakespeare, I can't imagine. But Zsa Zsa is, like the women in the ads in *McCall's*, a creature of pure, unadulterated "glamor"—that is, sexless, brainless, inhuman, imperturbable, statue-like; a woman's narcissus ideal, rather than a man's sexual ideal. (I speak here only of the public image of Zsa Zsa; I don't refer to the human being who lives within this myth and probably suffers from it.)

Next come several pages of dresses recommended by *McCall's*. They are not as ugly as many of the monstrosities that homosexual designers ironically like to inflict on the brainless women who set "fashions" in this world, but the models are the usual cold icy, unfeminine creatures. The clothes look like they cost enough to put the average reader's husband in debt for another five years, after he finishes paying for the Debutante Ball and having the house painted twice a year.

There are several pages of this gush, including sections on shoes and cosmetics, then we come to an article on "How to Intercept a Pass"—i.e., how to avoid adult sexuality and remain in the narcissistic-masturbatory infantile stage of the women the ads are meant to appeal to. Such an article is not an accident: the connection between Protestant Puritanism and the rise of the mercantile mentality has been well traced by Max Weber, Tawney and other sociologists. Hence, the rise of usury side by side with the rise of Puritanism since the time of Calvin; hence, the "businessman's religion" of Norman Vincent Peale; hence, the young lady having an orgasm over Lady Pepperell's sheets.

Next we find several pages of food—quite harmless, really, until you start pondering the Freudian meaning of food and realize that the gal who "intercepts passes" is going to have to sublimate some way. We then plunge into—believe it or not—the "Solid Gold Kitchen," 6 pages of the most expensive bad taste ever assembled in one place: a kitchen that would bankrupt 96% of the population and that looks as vulgar and stupid as a fat woman

with a black eye. Worse: it looks like a burlesque comedian with polka-dot underdrawers wearing a clerical collar. Worse: it looks like Dracula's mansion sprayed with cake frosting.

Perusing these stories and articles you would never guess that America is being torn apart by racial strife, that the world is trembling on the brink of nuclear destruction, that three-quarters of the people in the world are not eating well nor driving two cars, or that there have ever been religious and social systems based on values that transcend the consumer psychology.

Now, however, we are coming to the end of the magazine and the drab gray ads without the sparkle and poetry of the opening movement of the magazine. We begin to recognize the price Americans pay for the celebrated "pace" of the consumer ethic, the pace of "keeping up with the Armstrong-Joneses," or trying to. We begin to see pathetic little offers of release from psychosomatic symptoms and tensions:

"What do doctors do for tense nervous headaches?" asks an ad that leaves no doubt that the *McCall's* reader has enough tense nervous headaches to be interested in that question.

A few pages later we are told "how I use Murine to soothe my eyes and so relax tension." Notice that the real purpose of the drug is made a means to the fictitious but obviously much-desired end of soothing tension.

The catalog of psychosomatic disaster rolls on:

"Upset stomach got you OUT OF FOCUS," one ad shouts, in bold capitals; another uses the same type to tell of a "Woman relieved of agonizing ITCH."

Another ad promises "varicose veins, tired legs, leg cramps relieved."

Another asks the reader if she's "on a laxative merry-go-round?" (Chances are that she is.)

"Now possible to shrink and heal hemorrhoids without surgery," promises another ad.

Besides these revelations of the horrible truth we find a few inadvertent admissions of the horrible economic truth:

"Want \$50 or more Christmas money?" one coyly asks; a few pages later another waggishly promises to show you "how to save money in spite of yourself." (One way is to make up your mind not to paint twice a year, not to throw a Debutante Ball, not to have a solid gold kitchen, and not to waste 50¢ a month buying *McCall's*.)

This is, in total, a portrait of a society profoundly sick in body and mind, a society of people who have to be public owners because they do not know how to be intimate Lovers. It is a society hostile to the living flesh and religiously worshipful of dead things.

As Jean Sheppard would say, we will now conclude this merry evening with a spirited rendition of "The Barbarians Are At the Gates of Cha-Cha-Cha."

When the post-revolutionary Hungarian Government refused to allow U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammerskjold to visit that country, our diplomats and press interpreted the refusal as evidence that the Hungarian Government was afraid of an objective appraisal of Hungary's domestic situation. When the Soviet Government resisted an international investigation of its charges in connection with the shooting down of our RB-47 bomber, we construed this as a desire to hide the truth from international scrutiny. Even though these instances of an uncooperative attitude might have had other reasons, we persisted in identifying the camouflage of facts with evidence of guilt.

But apply this standard of judgment to a matter even more important than sporadic international incidents: the overall American foreign policy. If it can be established that great efforts are being undertaken to confuse the American public about the actual objectives of our foreign policy and to prevent any critical evaluation of it, then, following our own State Department's logic on other occasions, we must infer that that policy is somehow so illegitimate that it may not be displayed for public view.

THE "COMMUNIST" TABU

The most edifying lesson in this respect can be gained from an analysis of the "communist" designation administered and "bestowed" by our Government apparatus and its wide periphery of propagandistic volunteers and collaborators. In the process we must bear in mind that anyone or anything designated as "communist" by our propaganda machinery automatically forfeits all rights to be considered or listened to open-mindedly. Once one is branded a "Communist", it no longer matters what he has to say. His most logical and truthful statements automatically become, by virtue of his being branded a "Communist", totally illogical and untruthful. Right or wrong, there is no need to dispute him; the mere label "Communist" is a devastating rebuttal to all his views or reasons.

A most elaborate master plan has been developed and followed up to bring about such a totally idiotic yet totally effective stigmatization. It has been pursued on every level and in every branch of public life in America. All three branches of the Government have participated in it, and not a single aspect of American life has escaped their stigmatizing thrusts. From the crusading committees of the congressional vigilantes to the last corner of American schools, press, business, arts, churches and what not, the choice has been given to every American of either embracing the stigmatization (a meritorious opposition to communism not sufficing) or socially succumbing in the graveyard of illegitimacy.

THE "COMMUNIST" DOSSIER

An awareness of the striking inconsistencies in that stigmatization may help anyone who wishes somewhat to "unbrainwash" himself.

We may start with the inconsistencies that prevail in the "communist" dossiers of our propagandists and stigmatizers. Not only doesn't one need to be a Communist in order to be stigmatized as such, but, paradoxically enough, this peculiarity works in reverse as well. In the domestic dossier of "Communists" we can find such men as Linus Pauling, whose questioning before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee was recorded under the ominous heading of "Investigations of Communist Penetration"; Dr. Willard Uphaus, who in the mind of New Hampshire's executive and judiciary is undoubtedly a "communist collaborator" for refusing to snitch on fellow pacifists; and many other individuals and groups equally lacking any red tint. On the other hand, there are others conspicuous by their absence from those dossiers. Consider, for instance, the Trotskyites and other communist splinter groups that are critical of the Soviet Union. While such groups are self-admittedly communistic and often more extremely communistic than the Soviets, somehow they usually escape the ire of active persecution.

This inconsistency is even more pronounced in the foreign department of the "communist" dossiers of our stigmatizers. In it we can find the names of political personalities the world over who are as related to communism as Eugen Duehring was. A Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh, former Premier of Iran, keeps company with a Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, ousted President of Guatemala. There seems also to be a special file for "transients", people who for a certain length of time are considered "Communists", or acting on behalf of the Communists, but then mysteriously reform and are no longer considered "Communists". This "honor" was conferred on such men as Abdul Karim Kassem of Iraq and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. That about the only Communists in Egypt are those kept in Nasser's prisons never prejudiced the "validity" of our "filing system". Right now the transient file of the foreign department of our "communist" dossier includes such foreign personalities as Dr. Fidel Castro of Cuba and Premier Lumumba of the Congo; while as far as Prince Souvanna Phouma of Laos is concerned, our propagandistic filing clerks seem for the moment quite confused about where to place him.

All this is not less surprising than the fact that some very devoted Communists indeed were never filed away in the graveyard of our official stigma. Consider, for instance, the man who devoted a lifetime to promoting communism and died without repudiating it: Imre Nagy of Hungary. Not only didn't we consider him a communistic enemy, but anyone who so considered him might well have made himself guilty of "subversion" and lack of "patriotism". Tito of Yugoslavia and Gomulka of Poland fall into a category of

The Arithmetic of Survival

Stigma and Force

their own. At times they are in the "dossier", at times not, all depending on whether they momentarily please or displease the State Department.

THE IDEOLOGICAL MISHMASH AND SCARECROWS

The obvious conclusion from all this ideological mishmash is that the "filing system" is not an ideological one after all. The classifications "Communist" and "non-Communist" have nothing to do with political definitions and are used strictly and exclusively as domestic and foreign devices to stifle all criticism of American foreign policies. It amounts to a blackmail that threatens every citizen and foreign political leader with severe repercussions if they dare criticize any basic objectives or methods of American foreign policy.

The American citizen is well aware of the treatment accorded to Communists in his country. The implication of punishment does not escape him and he knows that he cannot escape it by proving he is not a Communist but only by complying with our foreign policy. The same holds true with foreign political leaders. They know what happened to those we chose to call "Communists" or "communist agents", irrelevant of the latter's actual attitude towards communism; and if they wish to escape the fate of a Mossadegh, an Arbenz Guzman and others, they had better listen more carefully to our State Department and those interests on whose behalf it is acting.

If such an elaborate system has been devised to protect our foreign policies from criticism, those who formulate and execute those policies must be quite apprehensive about their chances of winning a no-holds-barred discussion. They must be quite self-conscious about the merits, justice and legitimacy of their own policies. The only field that needs a scarecrow is a seeded one . . . Were there nothing for the birds to find, there would be no need to scare them away.

Stigma is never resorted to when concrete charges can be brought instead. Whenever we believe ourselves in the possession of legitimate, hard hitting arguments against the Communists, we do not hesitate to voice them. In the days of Stalin we never hesitated to refer to Soviet labor camp atrocities, and whenever we have something more intelligent and specific to say than "communist propaganda!", we say it. Against a true subversive, we let the facts speak, but when we attempt to besmear a man like Linus Pauling, we can hardly do it without resorting to stigmatization that takes guilt for granted.

THE POWER OF STIGMA

Our Government propagandists are no less successful than McCarthy was in brainwashing the American public (including those elements who consciously opposed him but subconsciously adopted a degree of his stigmatization); with the same ruthless efficiency they have substituted stigmatization for discussion and controversy. To a frightening degree they have succeeded in preventing the American mind from considering the most obvious facts. No amount of discussion and enlightenment on the subject could lead anyone to believe that a Fidel Castro, for no valid reason whatsoever, decided to pick on the United States. But stigmatization achieved just that. No discussion and enlightenment on the subject could camouflage the aggression in our restoration of German militarism. But stigmatization achieved just that. No discussion and enlightenment on the subject could camouflage our provocative, bellicose encirclement of an adversary's frontiers with military bases. But stigmatization achieved just that. The same can be said about our military budgets and military alliances, our air intrusions and our attitude towards disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons. If only the American people were allowed to think sensibly about those matters, their conclusions would be unmistakable. That's why they are deprived of the ability to use their intellects in weighing those matters. This is the achievement of stigmatization. It has defeated the citizen's brain power, keeping it subdued and inactive. It has reduced his thinking power to below the level of that of a small child. It has rendered it incapable of grasping the simplest facts and drawing the most obvious analogies. It has created an utter public tolerance for utterly intolerable policies. If it were not for that stigmatization, the world would not be living in a murderous vacuum of understanding.

Precisely because so much is at stake, every American must apply all his will power to refuting the stigmatization. If he traded all the thoughts no one cares to challenge for all those thoughts someone prevents him from entertaining, he would cover an intellectual distance that divides the imbecile from the genius. He

Foreign Policy

would be trading the impertinent for the pertinent. He would also be learning how to survive in the nuclear age. That's why, whenever there is a thought someone attempts to keep away from you by stigmatizing it, push him aside, pick the thought up and weigh it carefully. Indeed, you may use the censor's concerns as a guide into the most worth-while thoughts. When he stands there blocking your intellectual path and holding in his hand the detour sign "Communism!", move straight ahead and take a penetrating look at the labyrinths he tried to keep you out of.

THE CAMERA OBSCURA

Once you have unshackled your mind from the chains of stigma and no longer embrace opinions according to whether or not they happen to coincide with those of the Communists, there is no escape from the realization that if you wish to preserve world peace you must more often disagree with present American foreign policies than with present Soviet foreign policies. This has nothing to do with one's ideological attitude towards communism (and I do not have much respect for people who become anti-Communists even before they have learned what communism is), unless he is the kind of an anti-Communist who would sanctify war in order to wipe out communism. If you do not belong to that category of war advocates, you may not allow anyone to frustrate your analysis by threatening you with communist stigmatization if certain of your views coincide with those of the Communists.

Once you have achieved this intellectual integrity, the objectives and main features of American versus Soviet foreign policy will be as obvious to you as they will be to future historians.

Firstly, you will have to take due notice of our own leaders', including President Eisenhower's, often repeated evaluation that the Soviets are genuinely interested in peace. The horrors of World War II are still fresh in their memories and they are involved in such a gigantic program of internal development that they could not jeopardize it by military adventures. Except that unlike our leaders, you must maintain this evaluation with a consistency that does not sway according to transient propagandistic expediencies.

Of course, it is a fact that the Soviets maintain armed forces outside their own territory. This situation, however, is perpetuated by our insistence on maintaining military bases all around their country. As long as it is our policy to maintain our armed forces as close to Soviet boundaries as possible, the Soviets will understandably try to create their own buffer zones of military occupation. Soviet diplomats have on numerous occasions officially expressed their readiness to withdraw their military forces from all foreign bases provided we forfeit our military bases around their country. This, of course, would be tantamount to dissolving both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. If there were doubt as to the sincerity of these Soviet diplomatic offers, the case of Austria provided more than a token of good faith. As soon as we agreed that Austria should not be allowed to join any military alliances and endorsed her neutrality, the Soviets, in 1955, withdrew their forces from her territory, not caring one iota what kind of a social system they were leaving behind.

DETENTE

The Soviets would undoubtedly agree to letting Austria be a precedent for an effective detente. They have repeatedly stated their readiness to do so. They would withdraw all their forces from all foreign territories if we did the same. As already suggested, the case of Austria proves that the Soviets would not necessarily insist on leaving behind a minority communist regime. One must remember that Soviet interference in Hungary did not come for any ideological reasons. They interfered only when Imre Nagy proclaimed his Government's intention of withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact and becoming a neutral. The Soviets could not be expected to tolerate this compromise of their buffer zone against our NATO forces. It is equally important to remember that Janos Kadar, who came to power under Soviet auspices, is a rather dissident Communist who is nonetheless perfectly acceptable to the Soviets because he supports the Warsaw Pact for as long as there is a NATO.

The simple formula of multi-lateral withdrawal of military forces from all foreign bases could bring about the peaceful unification of Korea and Germany and pacify relations in such tense areas as Laos and elsewhere.

Of course, it would be both naive and unjust to expect that the Soviets would agree to end their military occupations only to find themselves surrounded by hostile governments. They may conceivably agree to coalition governments in Germany, and even in East European countries, but not if we insist on subverting them

and establishing in their place militant anti-Soviet crusaders.

The safeguards the Soviets demand are perfectly legitimate; they would serve no expansionism but rather protect the Soviets from someone else's expansionism.

DEMOCRACY'S STRENGTH

At this point of the discussion our propagandists usually argue that while the Soviets are ready to end all their military occupations, they cling to their allegedly claimed right of communizing through subversion. It is undoubtedly true that the Soviets are not going to volunteer to curb communist activities and ambitions throughout the world. If this, however, should be done without military means, such ideological expansionism would not differ one iota from our own self-admitted encouragement of our type of government everywhere in the world. We keep "selling" the whole world on the virtues of what we call democratic government, we welcome and encourage the deposition of regimes we oppose, and the Soviets do the very same in reverse.

If this competition could be exercised without the resort to military force, something quite wonderful might happen to democracy. Deprived of the opportunity of feeding on a war industry, the democratic countries would have to turn their energies inwardly, raising standards of living, reaching new heights of progress and becoming more and more genuinely democratic. No longer would democracy be a euphemistic camouflage for military schemes and economic expansionism, and the discrepancy between democratic slogans and democratic practice would grow ever smaller. Under such circumstances true democracy would gain the strength our militarists do not even suspect it of having. They try to save it by military force only because they fail to appreciate how greatly a peaceful world would strengthen and authenticate democracy.

One to whom freedom and human dignity is more than an artificial, false banner with which to needle an adversary cannot possibly be pessimistic about the chances of democracy in a truly peaceful, constructive competition with communism.

If, however, all our confidence in democracy should prove, under those conditions, to have been misplaced, then the Communists would win the competition. But then they would deserve to win it and we too would be better off for that kind of victory. If communism can win the world in a true competition of helping men, then communism is the path of the future. It seems that with regard to such a competition the most militant and militarist anti-Communists are the least confident about true democracy. Or is it that our democratic slogan bearers fear genuine, constructive democracy as much as they fear communism?

DISARMAMENT

All this is of course directly related to the question of disarmament. It is compelling that the party favoring a detente through giving up all foreign occupations should also favor total disarmament, while the party insisting on maintaining foreign military bases should oppose disarmament. From here stem all the misleading and perfidious maneuvers in disarmament negotiations. Disarmament cannot come about as long as the objectives of arming are not disowned. The Soviets are obviously ready to give up the objectives for which they have armed (occupation of foreign territories)—if we responded in kind, they would no longer need their weapons. As long as we do not give up the objective of keeping our forces as near the Soviet boundaries as possible, we are completely lacking in candor when we talk about disarmament. In fact, in our chronic disarmament "negotiations" with the Soviets we have been so perfidious that at least two of our former chief negotiators, Harold Stassen and James Wadsworth, occasionally got quite disgusted with the position they were charged with defending and ominously protested not to Moscow but to Washington...

If a detente could be agreed to by the United States and the Soviet Union, no utopia would be achieved on earth. But, with the great productive capacities that science and technology give men in our time, it could be a relatively good world to live in.

To create such an international reality, the peace seeker must not indulge in a game of mistaken identities. He must see the world picture as it is even if this might lead him to a critical evaluation of his own national leaders. He must not let emotional bias and national favoritism blur and distort his vision of the relatively simple and obvious constellations of forces that work for peace or war. And it is not only an emotional prejudice he must guard against but also mind coercions that would deprive him of his independence in reaching conclusions pertaining to the world situation.

WHAT DO OUR ALLIES THINK OF OUR POLICY?

The resolutions adopted by the British Labor Party during its recent convention in Scarborough should serve notice upon the State Department that even people friendly to America are much less gullible than the American Government wishes them to be. They should also make every American stop and ponder about the quality and implications of the cooperation our State Department is getting from its foreign supporters.

The Labor Party is neither pacifistic nor pro-Soviet. Its resolutions, demanding Britain's total unilateral disarmament, rejection of American missiles and withdrawal from NATO, were due to nothing less than blaming America for the continuance of the cold war and fearing that this self-imposed continuance would result in actual hostilities. Hugh Gaitskill, the Laborites' parliamentary leader, does not dissent from the majority on this. The difference

between the majority of the Labor Party (and for that matter many Conservatives as well) and the group headed by Gaitskell is not one of moral judgment. Both factions are equally disdainful of and apprehensive about the international policies of the United States. They differ only in evaluating the prospects and advisability of Great Britain pursuing, in her relations with the Soviet Union, a course independent of the U.S.A. Gaitskell is no supporter of the American foreign policy Britain has been subordinated to. But he believes that the international reality resulting from that policy leaves his country no alternative but to go along with America. Nor are suspicions towards American objectives the monopoly of the Laborite majority; even Prime Minister Harold Macmillan found it necessary to wrap his announcement about the establishment of a base for American Polaris submarines in Scotland in the outright and promptly denied lie that Britain would be consulted on the missions of those submarines. This lie was obviously intended to mislead the public into believing that Britain could exercise a veto over objectionable American purposes served by the British-based maritime Polaris launchers.

Internationally, we have few friends left who trust our motives and intentions or believe our official communiques and ideological rationalizations. Most of our foreign "friends" are acutely aware of the perfidy of our euphemisms and distrustful of our international designs. If they nevertheless still support us, they do so reluctantly; they believe themselves in no position to challenge our policies openly. The coercive factors under which they act are varied: they range from a fear of losing economic aid, most of which is offered on the condition that it be used for military spendings, to the fatalistic conclusion that since their own influence would not suffice to thwart the bellicosity of the American Government, they may as well drag along and try to make the best of it. There can be no doubt whatsoever that were it not for such satellite considerations, we would have been condemned by the United Nations on the U-2 affair, China would have been admitted to the world organization, and many other American policies would have suffered resounding international defeats. It is folly to believe that the "we-have-no-choice" compliance of our allies with our cold war policies is expressive of their actual sentiments and moral judgment. In this age, being an American ally often amounts to a readiness to lie for America and to comply with certain of her moves and notions that one actually opposes. The reliability of such alliances is highly questionable, and it would be childish to believe that this strained and artificial cooperation can endure indefinitely.

KHRUSHCHEV ON BORROWED TIME

Soviet interest in preserving peace is not pacifistically inspired. If they favor peace in this era it is only because they believe their progress depends on it. Under changed historic conditions, they might favor war as fervently as they are presently favoring peace. Facing Hitler's divisions, they did not for a moment hesitate to fight and did quite a remarkable job of it. We must remember this self-evident truth, because, if we truly desire peace, we cannot rely too long on the Soviets alone to uphold it. No nation that has an alternative clings perpetually to a foreign policy that has proved ineffective and incapable of achieving its goals. When the Soviets initiated their determined drive for a detente may be a controversial subject. In any case, it is at least several years old, as the withdrawal from Austria testifies.

Chairman Khrushchev, who seems to have gained power with the promise that he can "sell" the West on the idea of peaceful coexistence, is leading Soviet diplomacy on borrowed time. Whether Western accounts of rifts between the Russian and the Chinese Communists are correct or not, it is clear that Khrushchev is not, like Stalin, an omnipotent dictator. He is merely holding a mandate for as long as the most influential stratum of the Soviet apparatus finds him qualified to hold it. Unless he eventually produces the results he promised, he will be deposed and his policy of coexistence retracted as an impossible one. What would then happen to Khrushchev the man matters little. Whether he would succeed in making himself the leader of the new militant course in Soviet foreign policy or he would have to vacate his post altogether, coexistence as the objective of Soviet policy would be dead.

It may well be that Khrushchev's passionate appeal for a detente before the U. N. General Assembly, following his great effort to make that session a truly important one by urging the heads of state and government to attend it, was due to a premonition or even outright knowledge that he is not going to be given much more time to produce the desired results of his policy. He may well know what lies ahead if his policy should be retracted. He may know the trends and personalities that would, in such a case, succeed him to power. And sold as he is on peace, he may shudder at the thought. Many of his "warnings" to the American diplomats, with all their personal emotionalism, sound desperate enough to justify these guesses.

The question then arises what prompts our Government to reject all Khrushchev's applications. Is it that we are attempting to help bring an end to the Khrushchev era in Soviet diplomacy and would much rather see a neo-Stalinist adversary?

Here then is the relatively simple arithmetic of the world struggle which no disinterested party should have any difficulty in perceiving. If we are unable to view the world struggle objectively, it is only because our minds are being continuously twisted and perverted until we can no longer give an answer to the question: how much is two times two?

The Junior's Minority

(To encourage youth participation, this new feature of **The Minority of One** will accommodate thoughtful contributions by high school and college students. Each contributor will be awarded a complimentary annual subscription either for himself or for the person or library of his choice.)

TO ELIMINATE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION FROM PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By William J. Murray 3d



Towards the end of October the press found itself giving much attention to the 14-year old William J. Murray 3d of Baltimore, Md. Both William and his mother Mrs. Madalyn E. Murray are atheists and have been protesting in vain compulsory Bible readings at the Woodbourne Junior High School, challenging the constitutionality of the practice. When, in addition, William read to his class a factual school report on the Soviet Union that did not display the expected degree of propagandistic hostility, the atmosphere became quite unbearable to him. Not only did he encounter the antagonism of the faculty, but on several occasions he was physically assaulted by his fellow students. After a brief abstention from school, William returned to class determined to disobey the school authorities by leaving class whenever the Bible was read. Mrs. Murray and her son are determined to fight the case, if need be, all the way to the Supreme Court and if jailed, to go on a hunger strike. Following is William's story in his own words.

—Ed.

I am fourteen years old, but it would certainly take a younger person than I am not to be aware that our entire American culture is irrational. This is most apparent in what is going on in American schools today. Because our forefathers knew to what use religion could be put, they made provisions for the separation of the Church and the State, particularly in the domain of the free public schools.

When school started in September this year I felt I was mature enough to stand up for true religious freedom. The school authorities, however, would not even respond to my objections against compulsory religious practices such as Bible reading, feeling that there was no need to "negotiate" with a minor. My mother immediately stepped in, but the school, buttressed by its own authority and bulwarked by the entire religious system, remained indifferent to our protests.

I wanted to force the issue and mother showed me the need to dog along, step by step, to exhaust every "administrative appeal," so that when the legal fight came, we could not be defeated by missing a step in formal procedure. On October 11th, when we had been brushed off rudely at all levels, I was faced with the decision of whether or not to apply civil disobedience. By our step-by-step method, I had learned the legal requirements, the administrative rules, the evasion tactics, and also how little the school thought of the prospects of our challenge. If obedience to the law and the school meant disobedience to my own innate feeling of right and wrong, there was really no choice, only a clear call to duty. I decided to be disobedient to the Civil Law.

I am fourteen years old. I hope that the one quality I have, I will be able to retain: when I know the issue and see the need to act, that I will always move to action. For I believe in this: "It is not by their words, but by their deeds that you shall judge them."

Cheers of the Year

THE MINORITY OF ONE wishes to express the recognition of its readers for individuals or groups who, in 1960, have rendered a most exemplary service to peace and/or the application of truth, sincerity and integrity to public life in America. As a token of such recognition two (and possibly up to four) individuals or groups, of our readers' choice, will be presented with appropriately dedicated bound volumes of THE MINORITY'S 1959-1960 issues. One of the volumes will be reserved for a junior individual or group. In subsequent years, nominations for this token

of recognition will be entered by the readers themselves. Since we wish to announce our readers' choice in the January 1961 issue, this year's nominations were entered by the editor. Each reader is requested to mail us a post-card specifying his choice for THE MINORITY'S "CHEERS OF THE YEAR—1960" in the senior and junior class, not later than December 10, 1960. Each reader may make two entries for each of the two classes. A discrepancy of ten or less votes between two candidates will be considered a tie, in which case both candidates will be given the token of our appreciation.

THE NOMINEES FOR THE "CHEERS OF THE YEAR—1960", IN THE SENIOR CLASS, ARE (in alphabetical order):

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Minister whose determined drive against racial discrimination, conducted with utter disregard of personal sacrifices, has given hope for a juster America to millions of his colored and white fellow citizens.

LINUS PAULING

Nobel prize scientist whose activities for a nuclear ban proceed in spite of all harassment by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and who at the pain of possible imprisonment refused to become that Subcommittee's informer on fellow scientists petitioning for a nuclear ban.

ROSEANNA ROBINSON

A pacifist who preferred to serve time in jail rather than to pay federal taxes in a protest against their use for armaments, and whose hunger strike finally brought about her release from prison.

WILLARD UPHAUS

A pacifist and former minister, who at the age of 70 is still imprisoned for his principled refusal to hand over to the New Hampshire authorities a list of participants in a 1954 pacifist meeting of the World Fellowship of Reconciliation.

THE NOMINEES FOR THE "CHEERS OF THE YEAR—1960", JUNIOR CLASS, ARE (in alphabetical order):

STEPHEN BAYNE

17-year old high school student at Westbury, L. L. who publicly refused to accept a citizenship award from the local American Legion Post because it was awarded by "an organization whose policies I can't respect."

WILLIAM R. MARTIN

21-year old George Washington University student, Chairman of the Washington Young Friends (Quakers), who headed the group's drive of enlightening high school students on their right to petition for conscientious objector status.

WILLIAM J. MURRAY 3d

14-year old Baltimore, Md. student whose protest against religious instruction at the Woodbourne Junior High School led to his mistreatment by fellow students and faculty and who has been resorting to civil disobedience in a challenge of the constitutionality of religious instruction in public schools.

THE STUDENT CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

which was instrumental in the student demonstrations against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco on May 12-14 that resulted in the Black Friday police violence against the peaceful student demonstrators.

The Californian

When a Reporter Goes Straight . . .

What can a professional reporter do once he has learned the back stage reality of our yellow press that embraces in one way or another most of our dailies, magazines and news services? Well, he usually does one of two things: either he learns to live with that reality, masters its insidious and unprincipled techniques and partakes of the spoils of a corrupted profession; or, if he cannot stomach it all and has scruples as to how he is making a living, he leaves his profession in disgust and disillusionment to try for new pastures.

There is, however, also a third way that is reserved for the courageous "in-spitters." One such in-spitter is Burton H. Wolfe of San Francisco, California. Wolfe is a former International News Service reporter who decided neither to succumb to the perverse requirements of the usual journalistic business nor to leave the press in despair. Instead, he has launched, in January 1959, *The Californian*, a liberal monthly magazine that differs from other magazines in one respect: it is dedicated to truth and seeks out the kind of material the usual paper carefully dumps, mindful of its financial backers and advertisers.

A summation of the targets of *The Californian's* searching light will well indicate that here is a publication that is ploughing wherever the ploughing is most badly needed but also most inaccessible: Samuel I. Newhouse, chain-publisher of the *Portland Oregonian*, whose determined anti-unionism has led to a celebrated newspaper strike; electric and power companies; the AMA; the Safeway Store chain; the Pacific Telephone Co.; the Hearst Corporation; the Coca-Cola Co., and many other traditionally immune organizations.

Money Wolfe did not have, but he did have enthusiasm and determination, and now, close to his publication's first birthday, Editor & Publisher Wolfe is in the position to state that "*THE CALIFORNIAN is here to stay.*" And not only is it here to stay but its circle of friends and devotees is growing rapidly, including truth seekers in every walk of life.

The Californian is published at 744 Duncan St., San Francisco 14, Calif., and its annual subscription rate is \$3.00 (\$5.00 for two years).

Image Creating and "Decorum"

Unless our Government spokesmen and press have no psychological insight whatsoever, that notorious shoe Chairman Khrushchev took off during the fifteenth session of the U.N. General Assembly climaxed a special secret project of the Soviet Government. Not a cobbler made that shoe but a vast army of scientists and technicians, including some foreign brains since Russian brains could never be relied upon to master any kind of a project. At a meeting in the Kremlin some months ago, with the participation of delegates from all communist parties the world over, a grand strategy was designed that, on such and such a date at precisely such and such an hour, the Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, would take off his shoe . . .

If the above "description" sounds a bit ridiculous it is nevertheless perfectly consistent with the image of Khrushchev emerging from the American press and official communiques. Because whatever Khrushchev does or does not do is interpreted by them as a premeditated, deliberate scheme, deprived of all spontaneity and genuineness. If Khrushchev smiles, he smiles because some time before he actually smiled he had reached a decision to smile on that specific occasion. If Khrushchev is angry, he is not really angry but putting on a show of anger. If Khrushchev pats a child's head, there is a pre-conceived scheme with hidden reasons and we had better watch out . . . Actually, we had better watch out whether Khrushchev smiles, shouts, pats a child's head, walks, sleeps or eats. Because behind each of his moves and steps there is a diabolic plan and, naively well intentioned as we are, we may easily become gullible and fall for his pretense of sleeping or eating.

This caricaturish perception of the adversary is interesting not only for its total lack of realism but also for the degree of self-projection it displays.

Here in America we are quite deeply convinced that things do not just happen. We know, for instance, that when one of our leaders shakes hands with a stranger in the street, he does not do it because he is in a hand shaking mood but because his Advisor of Hand Shaking told him to. We know that when a television performer winces his face with the pain that grips some part of his body, it is not a pain at all but a prelude to a "health-saving" commercial. When our national leaders address us, their very physical appearance is not necessarily their own but the product of elaborate preparations by cosmeticians and TV advisors. The most interesting address is not necessarily a reflection of the intellectual quality of the orator; it may well be the product of a ghost writer. Our Presidents emerge from the most worrisome conferences happily

grinning before the TV cameras, and we know that such facial adaptability is one of the most important qualifications for the Presidency.

We are masters of image creating; hundreds of books teach us how to "sell" ourselves and whatever we are peddling; ministers tell us not how TO BE but how TO BE "HAPPY" and "WHOLE SOME". We belong to social clubs deprived of all importance, and while we know it, we are also able to pretend that these clubs and our participation in them are of world shaking importance. A nation of concealed agnostics, we also boast the largest church membership. As one very prominent mid-Western preacher put it in his sermon: *"I don't know whether or not there is a god up in heaven. But I will tell you the truth: I don't care to know whether or not there is a god up in heaven. All I care about is that here, on earth, it is good for man to believe AS IF there were a god up in heaven."* Vincent Peale devoted several books and thousands of syndicated columns to the same "philosophy." We know we have a government by lobbies, yet we pretend our lobbyists are the genuine, incorruptible spokesmen for the general welfare. We arm ourselves to the teeth and claim this serves nothing but peace. We talk about hospitality, and in one section of our country there is an even more presumptuous myth of "Southern hospitality" where "yes" means "no" and "no" means "yes." If, for instance, you should ever be flattered by this "Southern hospitality" with an invitation to "have dinner with us tomorrow, won't you? Oh it will be a pleasure to have you over", do not take it too literally. If you happen to show up, you may be stopped at the door with a: "Yeees? Oh, I am sorry, Frank is on the phone right now, won't you give him a ring at his office some time tomorrow?" There is no nation, no society that devotes so much time, concern and genius to the study of public relations. Had we still retained our own selves and only improved our art of communication, all would be well and fine. The trouble, however, is that we are becoming so public-relations minded that we exhaust all of our personality in it. Our concern with public relations is not an appendix to our true personality; rather it has become our personality, our self, our substitute for a soul and a mind.

No wonder we can no longer believe in the genuineness or spontaneity of other people's behavior. We read into them what we find in ourselves. That's why they all look like synthetic creatures, agents of perpetual scheming. When we ascribe these qualities to a despised foreign leader, we are providing a classical instance of self-projection.

Chairman Khrushchev's behavior during the fifteenth U. N. General Assembly

was often neither dignified nor compatible with traditional standards of diplomatic decorum. But I do believe that, when Khrushchev shouts, he shouts because something is shouting within him. When Khrushchev smiles, he smiles simply because he is satisfied, pleased or happy. The fact that our own diplomats and leaders aspire to achieve mastery over those laws of nature does not mean that everybody else in the world does the same.

Our utter contempt for anything that does not amount to synthetic decorum and pretended niceties bespeaks our classically described Babbitt snobbishness. Precisely because we as a nation have never had a natural aristocracy, we are strongly attracted by superficial courtliness. It is this psychological inclination that makes popular American magazines devote more space to foreign royalty than any magazines in the world. This is also part of the American fascination with General Eisenhower. He is "courtly", "dignified", almost "majestic" and these images of quality bribe us into tolerating all his historically important failings and shortcomings.

A penny for such "dignity" and half a penny for such courtliness and decorum! A belch against war is more humane than the most "majestic" stroke of the hand that signs an order to attack! A shoe banging on a desk in a fury against armaments is unequivocally superior to the decorum of a General Staff! From golden thrones and from under brocaded canopies have come the most tyrannical inhumanities in history; at any time I would prefer a stuttering President who announces peace to a synthesizer of "dignity" and "majesty" who sends his troops forth. And even if the stutterer should, during or at the end of his announcement, merrily pinch the behind of his female secretary I would forego the lack of decorum for his service to mankind.

So, Khrushchev was passionate, ill tempered, hysterical. So what? Or, isn't the prospect of a nuclear holocaust enough to make one passionate and hysterical? With how much decorum must we dig our graves?!

If only our own leaders had retained the natural ability to be plainly human rather than to cultivate "personalities" for export, perhaps they would be less inclined to coldbloodedly consider imposing the ultimate harm on mankind.

Enter or renew
your subscription today!

Make your choice for
"Cheers of the Year" (page 11)

THE WAY WE SEE IT

THE KING MAKER

That phenomenon of unadulterated fascism known as J. Edgar Hoover has provided still another token of its purity. This time the chief of our secret political police has set himself up as the clearance house for the nation's aspiring legislators. Terming Senators Karl E. Mundt and Styles Bridges and Representatives John J. Rooney and John W. McCormack "the most experienced members of Congress with knowledge of the Communistic threat and legislative know-how to handle the situation in our national legislature today," Mr. Hoover has in effect endorsed them for reelection in November. Actually, there is nothing new in this procedure of political endorsements by the political police. Whether Mr. Hoover is willing to do for that quartet what he used to do for the late Joe McCarthy—to break the laws of the land by smuggling secret executive documents to him—is not known to us. In any case he is bound to go down in history as the most illustrious American "elder statesman": not only is he the most prominent peeping Tom in America but also a best selling "author"; not only is he a minion in the executive but also a king maker in the legislative. Because above all J. Edgar Hoover is a social philosopher; the mental prototype our power elite has set up as the only "desirable" and "truly American" one would have never been almost universally achieved were it not for that ingenious architect of fear and coercion. And his failure to disqualify either presidential candidate was more than an act of reciprocity for their bipartisan endorsement of him; it was an unheeded but highly meaningful reflection on their political integrity.

A HISTORY LESSON IN AN AMERICAN SCHOOL IN 1984

"So, children, remember, on August 6, 1945, Hirohito, eager to create an excuse for surrendering to the American forces in order to learn from them democracy and justice, had a Japanese plane painted with American insignia flown over Hiroshima to drop an atomic bomb over the city. The same feat was repeated over Nagasaki on August 9, 1945.

"Then, of course, you recall the Pavel impersonation. To embarrass the United States, the communist tyrants took a Russian named Pavel who resided in Kiev, gave him faked American papers identifying him as a Virginian named Powers, had him board an unmarked plane and fly it over their own territory, then pretended before the world it was an American air intrusion."

You don't believe that that's how the "history" teacher will sound?—Just consider the newspaper stories about the Cubans painting their own planes with American insignia and flying them over their island on hostile missions spreading subversion and devastation in Cuba. . .

A PROMISE OF GRAFT

In his well conceived electioneering campaign candidate Richard M. Nixon has exploded a political bomb shell intended to attract votes but which properly perceived should have attracted the official interest of some district attorney. Richard Nixon has made a solemn promise to the electorate that if elected President of the United States, he will see to it that the retiring Dwight D. Eisenhower will not be cut off from the trough of official corruption; he will let him tour the world forth

and back, while Uncle Sam foots the bill, under the pretext that the gentleman's pleasure is spreading "good will" for America.

One would indeed have to be heartless not to appreciate the noble humanity in Mr. Nixon's "promise." It clearly qualifies him for honorary membership in the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Because just consider: here is an elderly military hero who has just spent eight years in the White House building his prosperous farm in Gettysburg and accepting prize cattle for it; whose personal whims, desires and caprices have been indulged by hundreds of the nation's employees and members of the armed services; whose pleasures and amusements were supplied by a fleet of the nation's boats, jet planes, helicopters and rest sites; whose every swing at a golf ball cost the nation thousands of dollars; who appealed to that very nation to tolerate the corruption of his closest adjutant because he "needed him"; who was the most conceited, snobbish and coquettish prima donna who has ever lived in the White House—and now suddenly within one day that such a man should become no more than a private citizen still living on yesterday's "official" take but no longer enlarging it! Wouldn't such an experience be cruel and disheartening?!

While it is not surprising that Mr. Nixon has displayed so much human concern for the shoulders that carried him to prominence, it is rather noteworthy that that avowed crusader against corruption in trade unions, Senator John L. McClellan, did not drag him before his congressional committee to question the propriety of making public promises of corruption involving the nation's highest executive office.

Growing Dependent on Suicide . . .

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, California, sponsored by the Fund for the Republic, has performed an important public service by publishing a study of

Community of Fear

by Harrison Brown and James Real

Foreword by Reinhold Niebuhr

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions—40 pages

the arms race by Harrison Brown and James Real. Dr. Brown, who during World War II worked on the atomic project at Oak Ridge, is presently professor of geochemistry at the California Institute of Technology, and he and Mr. Real are Consultants to the Center.

Community of Fear is a fundamental study of the social and psychological affects of a national policy that attempts to achieve total military security. It raises the question whether the American Administration is still capable of freeing itself of its dependence on the military brass and the war industry. It observes that "there is rather clearly a military elite emerging in the United States which is dedicated to a position of perpetual hostility toward the Soviet Union" and that the "military elite is now the strongest lobby in Washington."

While our military budget amounts "only" to 10-12 per cent of the gross national product, considering the economic activity it generates, "between one-quarter and one-third of the economic activity of the nation as a whole is based upon the weapons race." The implication is that an American Administration could undertake to stop the fatal arms race only at the risk of causing a severe crisis to our basic economic structure.

Furthermore, "the military elite is clearly in a position to assume actual political command over the U.S. striking forces if there are serious signs of 'weakness' in U.S. foreign relations." Putting it more bluntly: "the possibility of a COUP by the United States military is real."

The authors envisage an ever increasing arms race aimed at producing bombs in the gigaton range, altering the climate over the Soviet Union, burning the earth or keeping it from rotating, increasing the albedo and making the oceans boil. Yet, man might just learn how to live under the most abnormal conditions. He might adopt a new habit pattern of living in ever deeper holes. The regression is grimly presented: "Tens of thousands of years ago our Mousterian and Aurignacian ancestors lived in caves. The vast knowledge which we have accumulated during the intervening millenia will have brought us full cycle. The epic of man's journey upward into the light will have ended."

A grim prediction, but if man is to make an intelligent effort not to let it come true, he must first be aware of it. Dr. Brown and Mr. Real have contributed to such an awareness.

From READERS' LETTERS

SUPPORT WITHOUT AGREEMENT

Your philosophy, as outlined at the Washington meeting of subscribers, leads me to support you in spite of the fact that I disagree with many of your views.

Those who would suppress discussion and disagreement are doing a disservice to the country. I think it is important for the right to disagree to be recognized as fundamental in a free country, and I join you in your "exercising of civil liberties."

Although I may criticize your views from time to time (such as your rather vicious tirades against Ike & Co. which contain very little true criticism; constructive or otherwise), I still feel that the net effect of *The Minority of One* is good in this complacent and non-thinking age.

I hope the enclosure will boost the publication fund a little and that you will be able to continue.

Washington, D. C. RICHARD HALL

THE PAINS OF BEING HEARD

In an age of "doublethink" it is both compelling and gratifying to subscribe to your periodical. I doubly realized this need when, for reasons I would deem insufficient, the university that I am attending was reluctant to having *The Minority of One* subscribed to for its library reading room. It is extremely unfortunate that such illogical conservatism can mar free thought in an educational institution which should foster clear thinking on all issues. It is altogether possible, however, that the university browsing room, whose funds are provided by the student body, will subscribe since the Human Rights Committee on the campus and the associate dean of the liberal arts college have both given your publication their full approval.

With all god hopes for the continuation of your noble work,

Bronx, N. Y. RICHARD LAWRENCE YUDELL

WHY NOT CRITICIZE THE OTHER GUY?

I have been thinking about the subscribers' meeting in New York, where I had the pleasure of meeting you. Maybe I am wrong (and it is against that possibility that I am writing this letter), but I am unhappy and suspicious about the MINORITY's persistent failure to lash out at the Soviet threat to world peace and freedom.

You and I are agreed that peace is the number one problem. We are agreed that American foreign policy is headed in the wrong direction, that it supports dictators and injustice in at least a dozen countries, that there is such a thing as American imperialism, despite the fact that the colonies are ruled indirectly and unofficially, and that American imperialism represents a major threat to the peace, freedom, and prosperity of the world. I do not know, however, if we are agreed that each and every one of these remarks applies with at least equal force to Soviet Russia.

Peace is the most urgent problem of our time. Two great powers beside the narrow world like a colossus and the petty nations walk under the huge legs and peep about to find safety by clinging to the shoelaces of one or the other. The MINORITY lambasts one, but not the other. Why? Are you unable to see that outspoken opposition to the policies and actions of Soviet Russia will not play into the hands of American McCarthyites if it is done properly? On the contrary, silence about the Russian atrocities against peace and freedom leaves a clear, uncontested field to Red-Baiters and witch-hunters. It is not hard to show that, from the democratic point of view, it is the Senator Eastlands and the Representative Walters who are closest to the Communist doctrines on civil liberties.

Part of an answer to these questions is contained in your article, "How Can We Use the Communists? Learning from the Opposition" in the August 1960 MINORITY. Why do you regard Communist Imperialists as the Opposition, but American Imperialists as the enemy? After a long introduction which includes cynical remarks like "Since the opposition's view is theoretical, it is never truly dangerous no matter how wrong" (Peer Gynt would believe that, but no crusading editor like you should), you express general "antipathy" to Communist "fallacies" which "merely leave the peoples of the world a choice between two bad alternatives."

"O.K., but why do you never spell out what is bad about the Communist alternatives, e. g. the slave labor camps in Siberia, the one-party dictatorship, the oppression of national, racial, and religious minorities, etc. You imply that the Communists are not 'truly dangerous' because they are a minority (like yourself) not in power, a small opposition. The American Communist Party is too small and isolated to be dangerous (J. Edgar Hoover to the contrary) but the world Communist movement is quite something else. One might as well have taken a bland, 'learn from the opposition' attitude toward the pre-war Nazi-American Bund, or toward the fascist groups in France or England, on the grounds that Hitlerism was in power only in Germany. What makes you regard the Communists as sort of members of the liberal or socialist 'family', politically speaking, but fascists as out and out enemies? It seems to me that the Communists are much

closer to the other brands of totalitarianism than they are to the type of socialism or liberalism for which the MINORITY wishes to stand. Surely you realize that the Communists of today have no more in common with the radical movement from which they came than Hitler had with his National Socialist Workers Party nor than the ex-Socialist Mussolini had. If you think I am wrong in this, try to write an article on the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 from the point of view of the Communists as simply misguided socialists. Do you believe that Stalin and Khrushchev are the ideological heirs of Lenin or of Marx? (This, by the way, is what the Red-baiters claim, in order to discredit everything the latter said.)

Let me throw two further stones in order to make quite clear what I mean.

1. In the August 1960 issue of the MINORITY, you "warmly recommend" Huberman and Sweeney's book, "Cuba, Anatomy of a Revolution". I have just finished this book, and it is a standard, hack "Marxist" work. The authors are, apparently, more Titoist than orthodox Communists, but in any case their book, and some of the others advertised on the back cover, is (excuse the expression) tainted with totalitarianism. The book has some interesting factual material, but why did you express no reservations or warnings about the book's "philosophy"?

2. You mentioned at the meeting that your political experiences in Israel included seeing the Communists there stir up the Arabs against the Jews. Why does this not appear in the MINORITY? Why is there nothing about what the Communists do in countries of their Empire in Eastern Europe? Why does not the Hungarian tragedy stick "like a dead rat in your throat" (Khrushchev's terms) as it does in mine and in every other democrat's?

Norwalk, Conn. EDWARD SPEYER

EDITOR'S NOTE: To the questionable degree to which the correspondent's assertion of *The Minority's* "failure to lash out at the Soviet threat to peace and freedom" might be correct, it is due to two considerations: 1. Because we believe that true "patriotism is less concerned with the negative sides across the boundary, but highly concerned with those in its own backyard. That's why patriotism is self-critical. That's why real patriotism has always been accused by nationalists of helping the enemy by bearing out at least partly the enemy's negative picture of society." (See "The Voluntary Slaves", January 1960 issue of TMO.) 2. Because in our assessment world peace is gravely endangered by American foreign policy, which can be altered only by the action of the American people. We can do little about Soviet policy (nothing about Hungary), but we can do much to alter American foreign policy (towards Cuba, for instance).

To us there is a fallacy in celebrating the late Communist Prime Minister of Hungary Imre Nagy as a freedom fighter just because he fell out with the Kremlin on the Warsaw Pact and just because that Communist "family" quarrel pleased our State Department (Schadenfreude). In fact, Imre Nagy was a more doctrinaire Communist than his successor Janos Kadar is.

We very, very definitely refuse to form and express opinions out of any consideration for what our McCarthyite witch-hunters might or might not feed on. It is this kind of consideration that is responsible for the tragic and perverting tendency of certain "liberals" in America to "expiate" their liberalism on civil liberties etc. by displaying a "more-than-the-pope's" enthusiasm for the cold war and our active contribution to it. Of that we want no part even if not conforming in this respect leads to stigmatization and coercive pressures.

We recommended Huberman and Sweeney's book, "Cuba, Anatomy of a Revolution", which we did not review, because of the "interesting factual material" our correspondent also found in it. As to its Marxist doctrinalism we too wrote it off on the book's debit side.

While we believe that criticizing "what the Communists do in countries of their Empire" is primarily the responsibility of the true and courageous patriots living there (Boris Pasternak and Milovan Djilas did it!)—objective geographic circumstances have turned us not into Russian but into American iconoclasts—we have no hesitations about reporting our disparaging experiences with Communists in Israel and other parts of the world. Let us hope there will be many future issues of *The Minority of One*, and as relevant opportunities arise, our readers will be offered an insight into those personal experiences and the conclusions we derived from them.

"COMPLIMENT" FOR REP. REECE

I was delighted with Dr. Ernest B. Zelsler's open letter to Congressman E. Carroll Reece of Tennessee, in which he so properly takes the Congressman to task for his attack upon you on the floor of the House of Representatives. I join wholeheartedly with Dr. Zelsler. I shall write to Rep. Reece to inform him of my full approval of Dr. Zelsler's letter.

Saratoga, Calif. ROBERT H. SCOTT

TO AMALGAMATE TRULY LIBERAL PUBLICATIONS—AMEN!

I would like to comment here on your present financial situation. It seems there are too many groups existing at present—all with much the same objective—striving to bring truth to the American people; truth in foreign affairs, in religion, in health, in agriculture, in living. All these are actually working together but being divided into many little groups, they lose the power of influencing the general trend in which the people are moving or being led. But here is my main beef: it is hard for a little guy to support all these altruistic groups. I support many of them and subscribe to quite a number of their publications. I understand *THE INDEPENDENT* has a sufficient circulation to be quite secure. I think you could do worse than to make some arrangement with Mr. Lyle Stuart of *THE INDEPENDENT*. You people should get together and consolidate.

Portland, Ore. N. L. LARSON

THE EFFICACY OF VICINES

On page 5 of your October '60 issue you give Three Cheers for Dr. Albert Sabin because his vaccine will replace the Salk vaccine that was a boon to the drug profiteers only. I am glad to see the Salk vaccine go (if it indeed is going), but what makes you think that the new one is any better? Could it not also be a brain-child of money-grabbing drug interests?

Disease is an abnormal condition of the body, a result of violations of the laws of life (proper nutrition, exercise, sunshine, rest, mental poise, etc.). How can anyone violate these natural laws and escape the consequences simply by orally ingesting some live viruses?

Melbourne, Fla. DAVID STRY

A GOOD NEIGHBOR...

My neighbor gave me an old copy of your splendid publication and I enjoyed reading it so much! One no longer gets the thoughts of truly progressive minds except in obscure and unpopular publications. Freedom of the press is quite meaningless when it is not actually exercised.

Prineville, Ore. O. K. SCOTT

A WAKE-UP SERVICE

I think you are doing a very wonderful job—a wake-up service for those who can get a hold of a copy of your publication. I am circulating my copies among many people.

Roseville, Mich. (Mrs.) HELEN S. WILTSEE

"THE MINORITY" IS A COMMUNIST

I received a copy of your publication *The Minority of One*. It sounds like it was published in Moscow, or at least by the local Communists. I hate Communists.

San Francisco, Calif. CARL G. SHANKS

OH NO, "THE MINORITY" IS A CAPITALISTIC STOOGE...

True to the Marxist analysis of your function as a liberal in the capitalist scheme of things, you come to imperialism's rescue in the nick of time. Now too soon! Your summons is delivered—"head the radicals off at Eagle Pass!" and you go to your task. At the very time when the Socialist Workers Party can do the most good by running for President, when a real protest vote could have some meaning, you rush into the breach... and urge no vote at all. So readily do you fulfill the "dogma" that your only purpose is to betray, to come to the rescue of the oligarchy when otherwise all would be lost for it.

New York, N. Y. GEORGE LARABEE

AMAZEMENT...

I cannot praise *The Minority of One* too highly. It is a source of continuing amazement to me that the high quality of your analyses can be maintained so consistently in issue after issue.

DANIEL M. BERMAN
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Chestertown, Md. Washington College

INVITING REP. WALTER TO TELL THE TRUTH...

October 17, 1960
Congressman Francis E. Walter, Chairman
House Committee on Un-American Activities
The House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a complimentary copy of the just released November 1960 issue of *THE MINORITY OF ONE*. On page 6 you will find the article "The Defectors from Truth" written by the undersigned. It pertains to the treatment of the case of the two defectors to the U.S.S.R., William H. Martin and Bernon F. Mitchell, by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Defense Department. It concludes, in effect, that your personal part in this matter was that of a defector from truth.

This letter comes to invite your comments and/or rebuttal. In extending this invitation, I wish you to be aware that this publication has on numerous occasions taken a highly critical and negative view of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as well as, and especially, of your personal political activities and legislative efforts. Your comments on the handling of the Martin & Mitchell affair before the audience that read my denunciation might, however, contribute to illuminating the facts of this publication share its negative evaluation of your political personality. I should think, therefore, that seen from your point of view, here is an

opportunity of addressing people you might wish to convert to your convictions.
Your contribution on the subject would be published in full (I suggest 1,000-2,000 words), without any changes or omissions.
I would appreciate your early communication advising me whether you will avail yourself of the opportunity offered. The deadline for our December issue is November 7th, and, upon your advice, I shall gladly reserve space for your contribution.

THE MINORITY OF ONE
M. S. ARNONI, Editor

Enclosure.

BUT WALTER "HAS NO TIME"
TO TELL THE TRUTH

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Committee on Un-American Activities
Washington

October 28, 1960

Dear Mr. Arnoni:

Your letter of October 17, 1960, with its enclosure, has been called to my attention.

At present, Congressman Walter is engaged in his District in his campaign for re-election. Since he will be occupied with the campaign until Election Day, there is no practical way in which he could comply with your request that he submit comments for publication in the next issue of your magazine.

Sincerely yours,
FRANK S. TAVENNER, JR.
Director.

LIST OF SPONSORS

The following individuals are helping to make the publication of *The Minority of One* possible through their monthly contributions: E. A., Phil Arnot, Walter Baran, Fred F. Botts, Mrs. Florence M. Brawley, Sidney C. Brown, George Burnett, Dr. R. F. Burlingame, Mrs. Helen R. Bush, Eugene Copenhaver, Roy E. Coupal, Dr. Marvin S. Dayan, Henry R. Diskant, Lulu W. Draper, Charles H. Evers, Steve Farr, Arthur R. Friedenheit, Mr. & Mrs. John G. Frost, E. E. Garlits, Walter Goldwater, Donald L. Halter, Louis Halter, Elmer K. Hansen, Ray E. Hinkley, John Holovacz, Noel Iverson, Jr., Mrs. Elinor N. Jones, Miss Lilla Kalman, Lou Kashins, Richard Kern, Alfred J. Kurzen, Frank Liberti, John P. Limbach, Manual Machado, Mrs. Susan Mannheim, Otto W. Modley, Selden Osborne, Mrs. Wayland Phillips, Miss Mary Phillips, Miss Alta Powers, Miss Goldie Mae Preston, Irvin Prushan, I. S., Roger Schneier, F. R. Scott, Samuel Sloan, Esq., Glenn Steinberg, Carl S. Toble, Harold Verb, Mrs. Hannah Welner, L. W.

To Be or Not To Be

While the number of sponsors who help to sustain this publication through their monthly contributions has grown to fifty-one and their total pledges amount to almost \$300 monthly, we are still depending on additional readers to join their ranks. Many promising developments (it is still premature to report on them) have been taking place and we trust that before long a sound financial basis for this publication's continuance will be established. We will then be able to say to our sponsors: "It was your efforts that prevented *The Minority's* financial defeat, and the fact that now its continuance is no longer in jeopardy is due to your assistance in its days of crisis." If you believe that this publication has a public mission, and if you can possibly afford it, please become one of its sponsors by pledging monthly contributions.

Our one-man staff cannot possibly achieve a bureaucratic efficiency: it is impossible for us to mail monthly reminders to our sponsors. Also in this respect we must rely on their cooperation. So, please, if you are one of them, take each forthcoming issue of *The Minority* as a reminder to mail in your monthly pledge.

Many subscriptions are due for renewal. If your subscription is about to expire, please, send in your renewal at once. We need those renewed subscriptions NOW!

Several bound volumes of *The Minority's* issues 1 through 13 are still available at \$12.50. Should your remittance be received after their supply is exhausted, an immediate refund will be mailed to you.

And, a word to those readers who obtained their copies at newsstands. Your copy has been subsidized by a publisher who not only cannot afford to do so, but has no financial interest in this venture whatsoever except for investing in it all of his life savings without expecting their return. At the risk of being self-praising, I submit that this publication is an idealistic undertaking. If everyone who purchased *The Minority* at newsstands, at a financial loss to the publication, would enter a subscription, its struggle for survival would be over. So, please, instead of buying another subsidized copy next month, enter your subscription today.

—The Editor

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC.

P. O. Box 6594

Richmond 30, Va.

I wish to become a sponsor of THE
MINORITY OF ONE and will contribute

\$..... monthly.

My first donation of \$..... is enclosed herewith.

☐ ENTER MY SUBSCRIPTION FOR

☐ 1 year—\$5.00 (In Canada \$5.25)

☐ 2 years—\$9.00 (In Canada \$9.50)

☐ ENCLOSED IS MY CONTRIBUTION OF
\$..... TO YOUR PUBLICATION FUND.

☐ SEND ME A BOUND VOLUME OF
ISSUES 1 THROUGH 13
\$12.50 remittance is enclosed

Back issues available at 50¢ per copy.

☐ ALSO ENTER GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS
AT THE RATE OF \$4.00 PER YEAR FOR:

1. NAME

St. & No.

City
(Zone) (State)

2. NAME

St. & No.

City
(Zone) (State)

3. NAME

St. & No.

City
(Zone) (State)

Acknowledge gift subscriptions in the
name of

My name

St. & No.

City
(Zone) (State)

☐ I further suggest you mail free sample copies to the parties listed by me separately.

Signature

Of What I Am Ashamed:

► OF VICE-PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON and SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY for:

- their contest in bellicosity while discussing, in the presidential election campaign, American policy with regard to the Chinese off-shore islands;
- their contest in bellicosity while discussing the future American-Cuban relations;
- their contest over who could promise a greater increase in armaments;
- their advocacy of the resumption of nuclear tests by the United States.

► OF RICHARD M. NIXON for his perfidious suggestion that the United States repudiates the Connally Amendment and adopt another reservation instead which would still deny jurisdiction to the World Court in any case "involving the national security of the United States."

► OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT for releasing 155 million dollars, previously frozen, for the construction of B-70 bombers.

► OF GOVERNOR JIMMIE DAVIS of Louisiana for seeking state legislation permitting him, in a new anti-desegregation maneuver, to close down schools in New Orleans in spite of a Federal court injunction ordering him to keep hands off the New Orleans schools.

► OF THOMAS E. MURRAY, former Atomic Energy Commissioner, for claiming that the absence of evidence to the contrary makes him "take for granted" that the Soviet Union is not living up to its moratorium on nuclear tests, and for demanding that the United States, therefore, resume its own nuclear tests.

► OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT for its intrigues to prevent parliamentary government in the Congo.

► OF THE AMERICAN LEGION for urging the United States to use military force to overthrow the Cuban Government.

► OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT for its continuous provocative military exercises at the American naval base at Guantanamo in Cuba.

► OF JUDGE OSCAR MITCHELL of De Kalb County court, Ga. for sentencing the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. to a four-month term at a public works camp in a legal hoax involving an alleged traffic violation and the breaking of Georgia's new antitrespass law aimed against demonstrators for racial equality.

► OF THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION OFFICE for deporting Frederick J. William, a 64-year-old former member of the Communist Party who has lived in the United States since the age of 9 months.

► OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION for its self-disclosed intention to give continued "highest priority" to weapons research in the next decade.

► OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT for planning to double its outlay on weapons for gas and germ warfare.

► OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT for admitting officers of the Congolese usurper Col. Mobutu to American military academies.

► OF JOHN F. KENNEDY for advocating an American veto in the Security Council should the Peoples Republic of China be admitted to the United Nations.

► OF THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION for banning shipments of all United States goods to Cuba in a self-admitted aggressive design to subvert that country's government.

its enforcement (even though such possible reactions must have been considered by the decision makers and disregarded by them as unconvincing). There is no telling what Europeans, whose memories of German occupation are still so vivid in their memories, may do to alter a plan that once more puts their fate up to German bellicosity. As far as the United States is concerned, however, the fateful choice has been made: American policy unhesitatingly moved beyond the point of no return when Eisenhower, Kennedy and Nixon agreed to a plan which, if executed, must irrevocably lead to the outbreak of World War III.

Read President de Gaulle's speeches and you will know that NATO is not truly a West European set-up. NATO was not initiated in order to exploit the armed forces of such nations as, let's say, Luxembourg, in case of war. NATO has basically been an umbrella for the resurrection of German militarism, its primary European reliance force. The whole idea of NATO was to resurrect German militarization after World War I. This time, however, seeing to it that it serves a concerted American-European policy rather than the nationalistic, expansionist interests of Germany alone. But with the exception of West Germany and the United States, NATO does not consist of enthusiastic members. It is this lack of enthusiasm that is responsible for the great discrepancies between its planned and actual contingencies. Only one European government has proved to be an eager, enthusiastic and zealous member of NATO: Germany. Alone among all the members it has kept bargaining not for the reduction of its participation but rather for ever increasing it. Presently, NATO no longer contains Germany; rather Germany contains NATO.

In effect, Germany in control of nuclear weapons will gain the discretion of timing World War III. There is absolutely no possibility of such a war leaving the United States uninvolved. What the decision of putting a nuclear arsenal at the disposal of NATO amounts to is the United States' readiness to involve itself in a war against the Soviet Union any time the Germans pull the trigger. Once NATO, and through it West Germany, is equipped with an independent nuclear force, Washington will have completely resolved the issue of war and peace in favor of the former. The only dilemma remaining will be one of timing and on this the Germans will have gained an effective proxy.

The only remaining hope is that that policy will be frustrated, that war will be prevented in spite of Washington's decision to have it. At best, this is a weak hope but the only one that remains. Unless the people of each NATO member force their governments to withdraw from the Pentagon-Franz Josef Strauss schemes, the Eisenhower-Kennedy-Nixon decision will encounter no resistance and humanity will be plunged headlong into its greatest tragedy.

October 21, 1960

A Point of No Return? (Continued from Page 1)

termination to build France's independent nuclear "deterrent." Held within this context it came to establish German hegemony over European nuclear forces.

There are several critical factors in this development. Firstly, French determination to invest billions of dollars, over a period of five years, to create a French nuclear armory would have never materialized were it not for that Government's definite knowledge that Washington will not allow any disarmament plans to take effect. Secondly, the decision to put nuclear weapons at the disposal of German forces under the NATO designation may antagonize France to such a degree that it could have only been reached for

reasons directly relating to waging war. Both France and Germany are important allies to the United States. It is only when considering aggressive war capacities that the American Government conceives of Bonn as an immensely more important partner than Paris. A decision tantamount to putting West Europe under the military hegemony of Germany could have been reached only when all the chips were down and the sole consideration, even above irreparable antagonizing of the French, was to provide German militarism with decisive power.

It is well possible that British and West European reactions to the Washington decision will be so resolute as to frustrate

os-
id-
re-
ere
em-
so
ter
up
the
the
an
the
en-
ch,
the

nes
uly
not
ed
ay,
nas
ur-
ary
lea
illi-
ne,
on-
her
er-
ex-
ted
hu-
en-
eat
and
ean
ger,
of
the
for
but
tly,
her

ear
im-
tely
the
de-
the
the
self
any
nce
, is
lear
tely
e in
ma
on
an

that
war
ing-
this
re-
ATO
with-
osef
edy-
sist-
ad-